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## τετροπωμενους Joshua 11 6.

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THE word covers the Hebrew חָלְלִים ("slain" EV., קטלין Targum) and the Greek means "put to flight, routed". Query: Are we dealing with a free rendering or is the Greek faulty?

By the side of the reading *τετροπωμενους* which is found in E,<sup>1</sup> S-gr and in the majority of witnesses belonging to P there occurs the variant *τετρωμενους* in the Old Latin (*vulneratos*) and in the P members: F with its congener *f*, c *ι*, m, and, according to Holmes-Parsons, 16\*. It is likewise found in a whence Masius took it over.<sup>2</sup> Grabe prints it, relegating the other reading to the margin which latter Drusius pronounced to be an error, the correction of a sciolist. In this verdict I acquiesced in a former publication.

<sup>1</sup> E = Egyptian, S = Syrian (S-gr = the Greek constituents of the recension, i. e. minus *ι*), P = Palestinian recension, Ω = Origen. BFG need no explanation. a = Holmes-Parsons 15. 64, *a*<sub>1</sub> = 18, *a*<sub>2</sub> = 128, α = Aldina, b = cod. Mus. Brit. Curzon 66, c = c (= 108), *ι* (= Complutensian) and *c* (= Lagarde who used in addition codex 19), d = 58, g = 121, h = 55, m = 82, n = Athous γ. 113, *f* = cod. Meteoron in Thessaly; β<sup>1</sup> = Bohairic ed. Lagarde; C = Coptic; E = Ethiopic; L = Latin; S = Syrohexaplaris.

<sup>2</sup> Lagarde's Syriac has: ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ. Masius tacitly identified it with *τετρωμενους*, but in all probability *τετροπωμενους* was the underlying Greek. ܡܕܝܢܬܐ usually renders *πεπτωκας*, and *τετροπωμενους* would have been ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ. Nevertheless the assumption will stand that the translator read *τετροπωμενους* rather than *τετρωμενους*. The margin of Lagarde's Syriac has: ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ. The signature σ (= σ') is apparently missing; according to Masius, Symmachus' rendering was *occisos*.

Schleusner, I find now, hits upon another emendation. "Quidni *τετροπωμενους*?" (Schl. means: *τετροπημενους*.) *τροπης*, recorded by Nobil. for *τροπης* III Kingd. 22 35 (in a doublet, Hebrew *מָכָה* = *πληγη* in the first of the duplicate version) but not verified (see Field), led the way. It is certainly a plausible emendation there. Whatever *τροπη* may mean, it does not signify "a wound". *τροπη* might be used to render *מָכָה* in the sense of *clades*, but in *וַיֵּצֵא דָם הַמָּכָה* = *και εξεπορευετο το αιμα της τροπης*, *מָכָה* can only mean "wound". *τροπαν* = *נח* = *pertundere* (Deut. Job) = *נָקַב* Job. 40 21 (26) Hag 1 6 and Symm. Job 40 19 (24), *רָצַע* Exod. 21 6 (hence with some freedom in the parallel passage Deut 15 17 where Hebrew *וַתִּתֶּחֱטָא* sc.) *וַתִּתֶּחֱטָא* (*בְּאַזְנוֹ וּבִדְלֶלֶת*). One may *τροπαν* a slave's ear, or a fish's lip or nose, or one may have a *δεσμος τετροπημενος*, a purse with a hole in it; or, if we go to Homer, one may *τροπαν* ship-timber with the borer (*τροπανον*, *terebra*); but no example is available for *τετροπημενος* in the sense of "wounded". From *terebra* comes the verb *terebrare* "bore, bore through, perforate"; it is used Job 16 7 (8) for *τιτρωσκειν*, just as *compungere* covers the same Greek verb Job 36 25. But elsewhere *τιτρωσκειν* is *vulnerare* (hence the identification in *£* above) and *vulneratus* can hardly be in ordinary Greek prose *τετροπημενος*.

If *τετροπημενους* is unlikely and *τετρωμενους* too facile, let us try our hand once more at *τετροπωμενους*. *τροπουν* or (the middle) *τροπουσθαι* is a stronger *τρεπειν* (*τρεπεσθαι*). In addition to the one example from Dion. Halic. cited by Liddell-Scott, Herwerden has two from the papyri. In the Bible, the verb is a good equivalent for *נָגַף* (passive *נִגְפָה*); it is also used for *הִכָּשִׁיל* and even for *הִכָּבִיעַ* (just as *τρεπεσθαι* passive is *נִכְבָּע*). *τρεπεσθαι* (middle) renders *הִכָּה* (Num. 14 45, where, by the way, N reads *ετροπωσαντο*) and *חָלַשׁ* (Exod. 17 13). The last example explains *τροπη* = *חֲלוּשָׁה* (Exod. 32 18; *Ⲭ ⲉϣδσϣ* as Joshua 11 6, see above; *Ⲅ<sup>1</sup> ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟϣβωⲧⲥ* = *pugnae*). In Jerem. 30 10 (49 32) where *τροπη* = *אֵיֶר* "calamity" *Ⲅ* has misread the Greek: *ϣωϣ* = *εντροπην* comp. e. g. Ps. 34 (35) 26. A similar misreading is found Sir. 45 23: *εν εντροπη* cod. 155 (hence *reuerentia* *£*) for *εν τροπη*. The translator is here rather free: *και στησαι αυτον εν τροπη λαου* for *ויעמד בפרץ עמו*. Here by the

way **℥** misread τροπή as οργή (**δωντ**), comp. οργή **S**<sup>1</sup> for ροπή Sir. 1 21 (οργή suits the context here, see Smend). This brings us to Joshua 13 22. The Hebrew verse reads ואת בלעם בן בעור הקוסם הרגו בני ישראל בחרב אל חלליהם. **אל חלליהם** is rendered in **S** εν τη προνομη (*in praedam*). The reading is found also **h**\* **n** (= 16, 52, 57, 77, 131, 236, 237, Cat-Nic; 85<sup>mg</sup>; comp. also εν τη παρεμβολη 30) and **a**<sub>1</sub>. Barring the marginal reading εν τοις τραυματιαις αυτων<sup>3</sup> in **d**, all the other witnesses are divided between εν τη ροπή (**Bh**<sup>2</sup> **℥** in **E**, **Gb** and the majority of the witnesses in **P**; in **g** the reading is that of the first hand) and εν τη τροπή (**℥** in **E**, **c**, **℟** and **g**<sup>c</sup>, **a**<sub>2</sub>, **a**, 209 in **P**). **S** clearly stands aside, com. υιον for τον του of **EP**. **Ω** apparently followed an Egyptian text, merely adding sub asterisco οι υιοι ιηλ εν ρομφαia. The variation ροπή / τροπή meets us in both groups, **E** and **P**, the Origenic texts themselves being divided. πολѐμος **℥**, **لحرب** **℟** ("in bello. Nam sic capienda est vox τροπή apud LXX", Masius) point to τροπή, just as *mér* **℥** goes back to ροπή. The variation is clearly scribal: comp. in profane literature "τροπήν f. l. pro ροπήν Plut. Aem. P. 33 extr.", Herwerden, 1482. ροπή, from ρεπω "incline", means inclination downwards, esp. the fall of the scale; metaph. the turn of the scale, the critical moment; also that which causes inclination downwards, downward momentum, metaph. influence. According to Hesychius (apud Schleusner s. v.) ροπή is κλisis (so Suidas), νευμα, ραβδος, δυναμις, βοηθεια. In the New Testament we find the phrase εν ροπή οφθαλμων I Cor. 15 52 as a variant below the text in von Soden's edition for the textual εν ριπή οφθαλμων, "in the twinkling of an eye" || εν ατομω "in a moment"; the Peshitta writes **ܠܝܢ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ**, comp. כהרף עין Bera-kot 2b. Comp. also Aristeae Epistula, ed. Wendland, § 90: ροπή (ριπή **L**<sup>2</sup>) και νευματι "momento temporis et ad nutum". In the Greek Old Testament we meet with ροπή ζυγος Prov. 16 11 (**לחל** **למלא**) = פלס מאזנים / פלס ומאזני, Isai 40 15 (**למלא** **למלא**) = שחק מאזנים, comp. **ס'** Isai 40 12 εν ροπή = בפלס and **θ'** Ps. 61 (62) 10 ως ροπή ζυγου for לעלות במאזנים; Job

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Num. 31 s *συν τοις τραυματιαις αυτων*, an addition which, obelized in **G**, is omitted in **dkx** || *αμα τοις τραυματιαις* = על חלליהם in the first half of the verse.

20 5  $\epsilon'$   $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\rho\omicron\pi\eta\nu$  עדי רגע.  $\alpha'$  uses the plural,  $\rho\omicron\pi\alpha\iota$  (כסא, once פלא), as an equivalent of the Hebrew שחקים Job 37 18, 20 38 37 Ps. 35 (36) 6 Prov. 8 28 (Job 37 18 read  $\rho\omicron\pi\alpha\varsigma$  Field in Auctario from cod. 252 against  $\tau\rho\omicron\pi\alpha\varsigma$  Field in textu). Comp. also Wisd 11, 22  $\omega\varsigma$   $\rho\omicron\pi\eta$   $\epsilon\kappa$   $\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\gamma\omega\nu$   $\mu\epsilon\lambda$  (with marginal note  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ ) and 18 12  $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\mu\iota\alpha\nu$   $\rho\omicron\pi\eta\nu$   $\mu\epsilon\lambda$ ; also III Mac. 5 48  $\nu\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\nu$   $\beta\iota\omicron\nu$   $\rho\omicron\pi\eta\nu$ . None of these connotations would fit the passage in Joshua, and Frankel's (Vorstudien, 187) guess that we have here an allusion to the haggadic legend according to which Balaam had lifted himself up by his mantic art into the heights and was thence hurled down by Phinehas<sup>4</sup> will have to be dismissed as irrelevant. "Non vana itaque est suspicio, vel legendam esse  $\epsilon\nu$   $\tau\rho\omicron\pi\eta\nu$ " — his other guess is not worth mentioning —, Schleusner.

Hence the correct reading is *εν τη τροπη* "in the rout". The phrase covers **אל חלליהם**. The translator neglected to render **בחרב**. *απεκτειναν* = **הרגו בחרב**. "In the rout" is a bit free for "among the rest of their slain" RV., but a "rout" implies a number of "slain" persons. Hence in 11 6 "routed" is just as free but just as correct for "slain". *εν τη τροπη* 13, 22 = **אל חלליהם** and *τετροπωμενους* = **חללים** support each other admirably. In the former passage B is corrupt, but on the other hand B has the correct reading in the latter place.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Ps.-Jonathan Num. 31 s: ופרח בתריו ואחריה: ... ומפריה מלכי מרין בכשפים והוא עצמו פורח עמהם: and Rashi on v. 6: והיא להם את העיץ ... והם גופלים לכך נאמר על חלילה במלכי מדין שגופלים על החללים מן האויר וכן בבלעם כתוב על חלילה בסי' יהושע hence pressing the word על for which against Rashi we have in Joshua 24a; comp. Pal. Sanhedrin 29a, 11f.: ד'א על חלילה שהיה צף כנגד כל חלילהם והיה פיגמם מראה לו את העיץ ... והוא שופע ויורד.